

UDK

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Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski and the plan of the Balkan Federation (1804-1806).

*Piotr Żurek*Uniwersytet Warszawski, Instytut Historyczny,
Varšava, Republika Polska

The plan of the Balkan federation counts among those political concepts which have never been implemented. In spite of this fact, the idea survived in the European politics. After the Second World War, Josip Broz Tito was a great advocate of this idea. The same idea was simultaneously a source of his conflict with Stalin. However, the plan of the Balkan Federation was first created by the Polish Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski. This happened in the period between 1804-1806 when he was in office as Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia. The topic of this article are the reasons for the appearance and the first implementation of this plan. These events are closely linked to the operations of the Russian fleet under Admiral Dmitry Nikolayevich Senjavin on the Croatian coast.

On 28 January 1804, Emperor Alexander I entrusted Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski¹ with office of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia². In the moment when Czartoryski took over the office, Napoleon Bonaparte was at the centre of the European political scene. Although Emperor Alexander I imposed his political orientation on Czartoryski and had the foreign affairs of Russia firmly in his hands, the Prince was free to act in the area of the so-called "little politics"³. Czartoryski was in the first place afraid of Napoleon's Balkan plans which aimed at dividing Turkey and causing a Russian-Turkish war. The outbreak of this conflict would have threatened the treaty on alliance concluded between Russia and Turkey and signed on 3 January 1799. Pursuant to the treaty, the Russian fleet was entitled to access the Mediterranean Sea through the Bosphorus and Dardanelles Straits⁴. Czartoryski therefore believed that the Russian policy on the Balkans should primarily be based on developing pro-

¹ **Czartoryski, Adam Jerzy** (1770-1861), Prince, famous Polish statesman, initially a supporter of the revival of the Polish state with Russian assistance. During the Polish insurrection 1830-1831 changed to the pro-Turkish side. Since 1831 in emigration, founder and leader of Hotel Lambert - the aristocratic camp of the Polish emigration. On the attitude of the Czartoryski family towards Croats and the Croat issue see: J. Šidak, Hotel Lambert i Hrvati, in: *Studije iz hrvatske povijesti XIX stoljeća*, Zagreb 1973, pp. 167-177; M. Valentić, Prva programska formulacija velikosrpske ideje, in: *Izvori velikosrpske agresije*, Zagreb 1991, pp. 41-64; P. Żurek, Raguzani i Sarmati in: *Iz povijesti dubrovačko-poljskih odnosa u drugoj polovici 18. stoljeća*, Zagreb 2001

² "Управляјушиi министерством иностранных дел", (Внешняя политика России XIX и начала XX века, vol. III, Москва 1963).

³ M. Handelsman, Adam Czartoryski, vol. I. Warszawa 1948-1950, pp. 60-61.

⁴ M. Tanty, Bosfor i Dardanele w polityce mocarstw, Warszawa 1982, pg. 55.

Russian agitation among the local Orthodox population. "Based on this policy, it was the religion which was to be shared, and not the origin"⁵.

After the defeat under Austerlitz, pursuant to the agreement concluded on 26 December 1805 in Preszburg, Napoleon forced Austria to cede Istria, Dalmatia and Boka Kotorska to France. The danger of the French army coming to the Balkan peninsula in the Adriatic Sea completely changed the then constellation of forces in Europe. Prince Czartoryski was aware that Napoleon would want to take advantage of the new situation to push Russia out of the Balkan peninsula. Finally, this could have led to a French-Turkish alliance and the attack on Russia from the south. In order to balance the French forces and prevent Napoleon to conquer the Montenegrin and Croatian coast in the Adriatic Sea, Prince Adam embarked on the attempt to reorganise the then Russian policy on the Balkans. Czartoryski created a concept of establishing a Balkan Federation under the Turkish protectorate and the protection of Russia. Two states were to be constituent parts of this creation. One of them was the Greek state of which the Republic of the Seven Ionian Islands, located close to the indicated area of the continental Greece, was to be the main territory. A Slavic state, which was supposed to consist of Dalmatia, Herzegovina, Boka Kotorska and Montenegro, was supposed to be the other part of the federation. According to the Czartoryski's concept, the strongest link of the federation was to be above all the Orthodox religion. Exactly for this purpose a **"Military Committee for the issue of Kotor and the Adriatic Sea"** was convened in Petersburg in April 1806 chaired by Prince Czartoryski⁶. In other words, Prince Adam's plan did not take into consideration the interests of Catholic and Muslim population. It was especially obvious that in the ethnic composition of the future Slavic state, the majority were Catholic Croats⁷. Czartoryski, of course, due to the reports of the Russian agents, was perfectly aware of the ethnic and national composition of these areas. It all points to the fact that he was given information on the topic by Prince Alexander Sapieha, who carried out a secret political mission in the period 1804-1805 travelling through Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro⁸. Czartoryski most probably believed that with the assistance of Russia, Serbs and Montenegrins would conquer Croats. Therefore, Prince Adam undertook strategic actions in the Balkans directed primarily towards the support of the Orthodox population, while no attention at all was given to the Croatian interests.

Already at the very beginning of his ministerial mandate Prince Czartoryski came under the influence of the Serbian emigration in Russia and took interest in the anti-Turkish uprising started in February 1804 on the territory of the Belgrade Pashalic. Since 1774, i.e. from the treaty of Küçük Kaynarca, Russia had been formally recognised by the Sublime Porte as the protector and patron of the Orthodox subjects in Turkey. This is why the Serbian insurgents put their biggest hopes on Russia. The sudden break and rejection of this tradition would have led to an irrevocable loss of the natural foothold of the Russian policy on the Balkans and the east. Prince Adam was therefore quite aware of this, and at the same time he wanted at all costs to maintain and strengthen the Russian-Turkish alliance. In spite of this, he tried to persuade the Sublime Porte to liberalise its attitude towards its Christian subjects on the Balkans⁹. His constant contacts with the Metropolitan of Karlovac, Stevan Stratimiro-

⁵ J. Skowronek, *Antynapoleońskie koncepcje Czartoryskiego*, Warszawa 1969, pg. 87.

⁶ J. Skowronek, *Antynapoleońskie...*, pp. 250-251; V. G. Sirotkin, *Meždunarodnye otnošenja na Balkanah i serbskii vopros v politike Rosii i Francii*, in: *Jugoslavenske zemlje i Rusije za vreme prvog srpskog ustanka 1804-1813*, SANU, Naučni skupovi, Volume XVII, Beograd 1983, pp. 97-103; L. Vojnović, *Pad Dubrovnika*, vol. I, Zagreb 1908, pp. 128-130; H. Batowski, *Państwa Bałkańskie 1800-1923*, Kraków 1938, pg. 28; I. S. Dostoian, *Rossija i balkanski vopros*, Moskva 1972, pp. 52-60.

⁷ M. Bogović, *Katolička crkva i pravoslavlje u Dalmaciji za vrijeme mletačke vladavine*, Zagreb 1993, pp. 17-21.

⁸ A. Sapieha, *Podróże w krajach słowiańskich odbywane*, Wrocław 1983, pp. 35-246; J. Skowronek, *Aleksander Sapieha. Z magnackiego gniazda do napoleońskiego wywiadu*, Warszawa 1992, pp. 117.

⁹ J. Skowronek, *Antynapoleońskie...*, pp. 166-170; *Pervoe serbskoje vosstanije 1804-1813 gg. i Rosija*. *Kniga pervaja 1804-1807*, Moskva 1980, pp. 207-212.

vić and his associate Vasil Karazin did not allow him to forget the importance of the issue. In the late 1804, Karazin suggested Czartoryski to take advantage of, in his opinion, favourable trends in the European politics linked to the disintegration of Turkey and concentration of the remaining superpowers on the fight against France. The Serbian emissary presented a project of creation of a Serbian-Slavic state under the Russian patronage, which would encompass all the areas inhabited by Serbs under Austria and Turkey. Karazin regarded the Russian support for the first Serbian uprising as the first step towards the realisation of this plan. The author of this plan of creation of a great-Serbian state was Metropolitan of Karlovac Stratimirović¹⁰. Towards the end of October 1804 Prince Adam received an official delegation of Serbian insurgents headed by Matija Nenadović. In a frank conversation Czartoryski insured Serbs that the Russian authorities attached great importance to the Serbian question, and at the same time revealed that the current political situation made it impossible for Russia to take active steps in that direction. The Russian Minister advised the insurgents to conclude a Serbian-Turkish agreement on the basis of which they would acquire the right to elect a Prince and autonomy similar to the one enjoyed by the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. He insured them of the assistance of the Russian diplomacy in the achievement of this goal and recommended that the insurgents convene a Synod (Council) which would be their central authority and represent them in negotiations with Russia and Turkey. Czartoryski ordered that the insurgents be paid 5 thousand ducats and promised them Russian intervention with the Sublime Porte¹¹. Stratimirović's plan and discussions with Serbian emissaries left a strong impression on Czartoryski. The best proof thereof is the fact that exactly during this period of time Prince Adam drafted for his Emperor Alexander I a plan of creation of the Balkan Federation, which took into account primarily Great-Serbian interests.

Nevertheless, in spite of the general disappointment with Russia after the talks with Czartoryski, Serbs did not completely reject his suggestion. Thus in the autumn of 1805, following the advice of Prince Adam Czartoryski, Serbian insurgents convened a Synod - the first Serbian government¹².

While creating the plan for the Balkan Federation, Prince Czartoryski simultaneously prepared for the end of the Russian-Turkish alliance and the complete change of the Russian policy on the Balkans. The basic point of these preparations was not to surrender the Balkan peninsula at any cost to the French control. In spite of the disapproval by the Emperor Alexander I, Czartoryski tried to activate the Russian foreign policy on the territory of Dalmatia, Boka Kotorska, Hercegovina and Montenegro. He got a chance for that in the early 1806 when the French army was preparing to take a part of the Croatian coast ceded to it by Austria. According to Czartoryski's idea, the main stronghold of the anti-French armed resistance and the bastion of the Russian interests in the western part of the Balkans was Montenegro. This fairly small territory which was never completely conquered by the Turks was supposed to be the link which would strengthen the Orthodox population of Kotor, Dalmatia and Hercegovina¹³.

¹⁰ P. S. M. Dimitrijević, Stevana Stratimirovića mitropolita karlovačkog plan za oslobođenje srpskog naroda, "Bogoslovlje", 1 (1926), pp. 55-59; I. S. Dostoian, Plany osnovanija slavjano-serbskogo gosudarstva s pomošju Rosii v načale XIX v., in: Slavjane i Rossija, Moskva 1972, pp. 98-107; J. Skowronek, Adam Jerzy Czartoryski 1770-1861, Warszawa 1994, pp. 124-125.

¹¹ W. Felczak, T. Wasilewski, Historia Jugosławii, Wrocław 1985, pp. 263-264; J. Skowronek, Adam Jerzy Czartoryski..., pg. 125; Vidi: M. P. Nenadović, Memoari, Beograd 1968; Prvi srpski ustanak 1804-1813 gg. i Rusija, Volume one 1804-1807, Moskva 1980

¹² M. Ekmečić, Stvaranje Jugoslavije 1790-1918, vol. I, Beograd 1989, pp. 117-118.

¹³ A. Czartoryski ambasadoru Rusije u Beču A. Razumowskom, (12. V. 1806), in: Vniešnjaja politika Rossiji XIX i načala XX veka, vol. III, Moskva 1963, pp. 138-139; V. M. Radunović, Boka Kotorska u francusko-ruskoj borbi 1806-7 god., Beograd 1935, pp. 14-19; Lj. Durković-Jakšić, Z dziejów stosunków jugosłowiańsko-polskich 1772-1840, Wrocław 1977, pp. 79-96.

Czartoryski believed that conquering Boka Kotorska "could lead to establishment of very good relations with the population of Istria, Dalmatia and the County of Kotor, which were also of Orthodox faith and also hated the French"¹⁴.

Russian envoy Stevan Sankovski, whose residence was in Cetinje, was very familiar with Czartoryski's plans. In accordance with the instructions he had received from Petersburg, he, together with the Montenegrin Prince-Bishop Petar I Njegoš, started preparations for an armed intervention with the aim of preventing Napoleon's army from taking former Austrian possessions in the Adriatic. Already on 24 February 1806 Boka Kotorska was conquered by the Russian fleet lead by Admiral Dmitry Nikolayevich Senjavin. Within the flotilla there were 6 frigates with 1500 soldiers. Boka fleet of 400 ships was confiscated. Russian fleet operation was aided from the mainland by Montenegrin troops¹⁵.

The ethnical composition of Boka Kotorska at the time was a mosaic of Croats, Roman population and Montenegrins, but Catholics were nevertheless the majority. It is therefore not strange that coming of Russian and Montenegrin soldiers in the area was received with intolerance by Boka population, who considered this act an occupation.

Occupation of Boka Kotorska was the first phase in the implementation of Czartoryski's plans. In March 1806 Russian army, together with Montenegrins, started an armed operation against the conquering French troops. The battles not only spread in Boka Kotorska, but also on the territory of the Dubrovnik Republic and a part of Dalmatia¹⁶. Of course, the issue here was not only to push out the French army, but above all to take the former Austrian possessions. From the strategic point of view, in the conflict of the Russian-Montenegrin army with Napoleon's army the most important was the territory of the still independent Dubrovnik Republic.

In the history of the St. Blasius Republic, the year of 1806 was the beginning of the end of its existence. The territory of the Dubrovnik Republic separated Boka Kotorska and Montenegro from the rest of Dalmatia. In other words, this state was in the way of the marching route of both the French and the Russian-Montenegrin army. Already in the early 1806 the Russian fleet started hijacking Dubrovnik ships. In April and May the Russians took the island fortresses of Korčula and Hvar. The most critical moment, however, came only towards the end of May, when the French army, lead by General Jacques Lauriston, entered the territory of the Dubrovnik Republic. Then the Russian-Montenegrin army, not waiting for further developments, started armed operations on the territory of the Dubrovnik Republic both from the mainland and from the sea. There were battles between Russians and Montenegrins against the French and Croats, who, despite the general intolerance of Napoleon, supported his army in this conflict. At first the joint Russian-Montenegrin forces had great success. On 17 June they started the conquest and bombardment of the Dubrovnik fortress. It lasted until 6 July when the French reinforcement lead by General Gabriel Molitore pushed out the aggressor¹⁷. Prince Adam Czartoryski does not seem to have expected in his plans

¹⁴ Memorijal Czartoryskog od 23. siječnja 1806, in: A. Tričevski, *Diplomatičeskija snošenija Rosiji s Francieji v epohu Napoleona I*, vol. III, S. Petersburg 1892. *Sbornik Imperatorskago Istoričeskago obščestva*, vol. 82, 1892, pp. 270-271.

¹⁵ B. Pavičević, *Crna Gora i Boka Kotorska od požunskog do tilzitskog mira 1805-1807, "Istorijski zapisi"*, XXXVIII (LVIII), 1985/3-4, pp. 5-13; I. Zlokočić, *Pomorstvo Boke za vrijeme ruske uprave (1806-1807)*, in: *Godišnjak pomorskog muzeja u Kotoru*, vol. V, 1956, pp. 11-112; Vidi: D. Dorđević, *Crna Gora i Rusija (1784-1814)*, Beograd 1914.

¹⁶ E. V. Tarle, *Ekspedicija admirala Senjavina v Sredizemnoe more (1805-1807), "Sočinenija"*, vol. X, Moskva 1959, pp. 261-268.

¹⁷ J. Martinović, *Dva svjedočanstva o Boki Kotorskoj s početka XIX vijeka*, in: *Boka. Zbornik radova iz nauke kulture i umjetnosti*, 3 (1971), pp. 109-111; V. Foretić, *Rusko-crnogorski rat s Francuskom 1806-1807 godine i pad Dubrovnika*, in: *Jugoslovenske zemlje i Rusija*, pp. 329-333;

that the operation of the Russian-Montenegrin troops in Boka Kotorska and Dalmatia would cause an interethnic bloodshed between Serbs and Croats. The arrival of Russians and Montenegrins to the area was accompanied by a wave of violence committed on the local Croats. It was the resistance of the local Croatian population that contributed to the successes of Napoleon's army in the area and the creation of the Illyrian provinces¹⁸. Thanks to direct reports of the Russian ambassador in Dubrovnik, Prince Czartoryski was, of course, very well informed of the dissatisfaction which the Croats in the area felt towards Russians and Montenegrins. He was also very familiar with the course of the negotiations which Sankovski lead with the Senate of the Dubrovnik Republic regarding the possible entry of the Russian-Montenegrin army in their territory¹⁹. Czartoryski also had contacts with the Dubrovnik envoy in Petersburg, Alvisini²⁰. In addition, the Senate of the Dubrovnik Republic was in correspondence with Prince Czartoryski²¹.

Military defeats of the Russian-Montenegrin army in Dalmatia discouraged Alexander I from the implementation of Czartoryski's plans on the Balkans. Due to this defeat, Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski resigned from the office of the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs on 16 July 1806²². However, not until the signature of the Peace Accords of Tilsit on 7 July 1807, i.e. until the moment when the Russian fleet left the Adriatic Sea, did Prince Adam lose hope that his plan of the Balkan Federation would perhaps still be implemented. Several decades later this plan would, in a changed form, become one of the fundamental concepts of the south-Slavic and Croatian policy of Hotel Lambert.

ORIGINAL TEXTS*

Document No 1

Dubrovnik Senate to Adam Jerzy Czartoryski, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia.

Dubrovnik State Archives, *Lettere di Ponente*, series 76/XIX century, No 6;

The happier and more pleasant news than the one that Your Highness was appointed the highest minister of this famous Empire certainly could not have reached us. The extraordinary lustre which elevates it and the great noble spirit which makes it unique, shall decide on the happiness of these happy nations and contribute to the increasing glory of Its esteemed Ruler. In addition, should Your Highness be gracious and allow the Republic, apart from these small wishes, to express great joy on the occasion of such a great success and revive our its hopes in the joy about the results of the successful protection by Your Highness. Since the extremely strong and gracious protection of the esteemed all-Russian Ruler constitutes the safest foundation for our rest and peace, it is the subject matter of our most ardent appeals. The magnificent sire chancellor Woroncow was so kind to inform us about the possession of this precious grace in his letter of 6 January of last year; and this joyful conviction filled our souls with lively joy and highest satisfaction. Therefore, we hope even more

¹⁸ L. Stullija, Prvi dani Francuza u Dubrovniku, Dubrovnik 1806, Arhiv Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku. (rukopis); V. Čučić, Rat u Konavlima godine 1806, in: Konavle u prošlosti sadašnjosti i budućnosti, 1 (1998), pp. 160-168; V. Miović-Perić, Na razmeđu osmansko-dubrovačka (1667-1806), Dubrovnik 1997, pp. 256-264; S. Čosić, Dubrovnik nakon pada republike 1808-1848, Dubrovnik 1999, pp. 33-37.

¹⁹ L. Vojnović, Pad Dubrovnika, pp. 87-206.

²⁰ Isto, pg. 205.

²¹ Dubrovački senat A. Czartoryskom, (Dubrovnik 23. I. 1805), Državni Arhiv Dubrovnik (dalje DAD), *Lettere di ponente*, serija 76/XIX stoljeće, No. 6; Dubrovački senat Adamu Czartoryskom, (Dubrovnik 20. III. 1806), isto, No. 50.

²² J. Skowronek, Adam Jerzy Czartoryski..., pg. 130.

* Slightly archaic contemporary translation of the Dubrovnik originals from Italian.

that this great good will not be stolen from us by any shadow of unrest and that this Imperial Court would every time gracefully accept the expressions of our gratitude. In this hope we would like to transmit through Julius Count Alvesini, our appointed envoy to the Imperial Court, warmest appeals to accept his credentials and grant him free performance of his duties, for which we have elected him. Nevertheless, we realise that the grace which we aspired to has been postponed, and this postponement brings our souls into anxious excitement making us search for other reasons for the estrangement of the Magnificent Monarch from us.

In the most humble way and full of respect we therefore beg Your Highness to set our fears, which have been torturing us for the said reasons, to rest and to intervene with the esteemed Ruler on our behalf and grant us the much desired grace and allow our above-mentioned envoy to carry out his duties. This grace, for which we hope would be granted to us by Your generosity, shall represent for us the most convincing sign of your sympathy for our Republic and the clear obligation for us to guarantee our gratitude, full of respect, remaining at Your disposal with deepest expressions of our respect.

Dubrovnik, January 23, 1805

Document No 2

Dubrovnik Senate to Adam Jerzy Czartoryski, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia

Dubrovnik State Archives, Lettere di Ponente, series 76/XIX century, No 50.

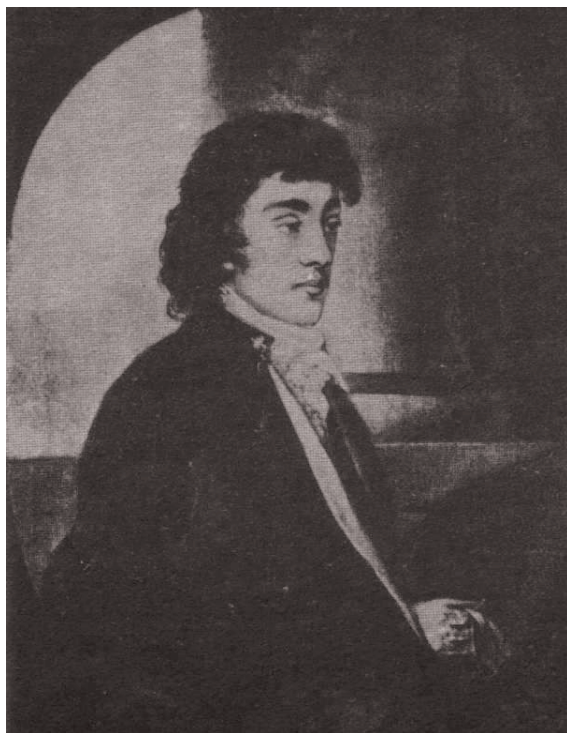
The Dubrovnik Republic, which having avoided the danger from which its caution could not have preserved it and from which the Imperial Court in Russia was expected to secure protection, did not have any other choice but to present its unfortunate situation to Your Highness and beg for the generosity and innate grace of the Great Ruler.

Situated on one side between the French divisions which have forwarded a message that they needed to pass peacefully through this state in order to, pursuant to the latest peace agreement, occupy Boka Kotorska and on the other side, demands of the Russian envoys according to which this territory would become a battlefield and food would need to be delivered to Montenegrins and other regular troops, this Republic found itself suddenly and without any fault of its own on the verge of a disaster from which it has not departed as yet, but it believes that it has already done enough for its good by securing the necessary time (having waited for the appropriate moment) to bring our obedient complaint to the foot of the throne to Your Highness. The Senate has presented to the Consul General, accredited to it all the facts which confirm all the appeals this government received several days ago. Your Excellency shall be informed in detail of the facts, of the five imposed conditions and urgent obedience of the Senate and of all other issues requested. The cruel alternative, which the Russian officials imposed on the steadfast neutrality of this Republic, whose true position and weakness is revealed by sincere glance as illusory and unreal, cannot but overwhelm Your Excellency. The unavoidable danger, to which the extraordinary circumstances bear witness, gave the Senate the power not to receive and not to respond to the notes of three different Russian officials, and it also provided it with ways and means to act in this situation in accordance with the usual legal form and directly cooperate with the accredited envoy of the Russian Imperial Court. Therefore it had to limit itself to a confidential communication on the events to Consul General, Mr. Fonton and in the same way deliver to him the tribute of public trust gently deserved by his honesty. The Senate also expects from him to present all the arguments which contribute to its advantage (of the Senate) and which the Senate has truthfully presented at the two sessions held on the topic.

The Senate, turning today to Your Highness, with the due respect attached to the letter, in which we beg Your Excellence to bring this letter, the tone of which can be read from the attached copy, before the Imperial Throne and thus the Senate completely surrenders its destiny to the justice of Your Excellency and turns to you regarding all the dangers to which the Republic is exposed and to which it shall be exposed afterwards.

The Senate deeply respects the intentions which the All-Russian Imperial Court could have regarding this area; it will never allow itself to speak unfavourably on anything which could indeed interest Russia and if it dared to present a single appeal, it limits itself only to seeing the orders issued to the officials of Boka Kotorska, in order to spare this unfortunate country from misfortune which nearly befell it. The Senate, putting its hope on the noble heart of Your Excellency, appeals that in these unfortunate times Your influential intervention with His Highness should not be withheld from us. The survival of this country depends on Your justice and grace, the gratitude of our people in advance, the best wishes for good health and success. With expressions of respect we are at Your disposal.

Dubrovnik, March 20, 1806



Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski

Knez Adam Jerzy Czartoryski i plan balkanske federacije (1804-1806).

Plan balkanske federacije pripada u one političke koncepcije koje nikad nisu ostvarene. Unatoč tome, ta je ideja bila i ostala aktualna u europskoj politici. Nakon Drugog svjetskog rata velikim je zagovornikom te ideje bio Josip Broz Tito. Ta ista ideja ujedno je bila izvorom njegova konflikta sa Staljinom. Međutim, plan balkanske federacije prvi je kreirao poljski knez Adam Jerzy Czartoryski. Dogodilo se to u razdoblju od 1804.-1806., kad je on obavljao dužnosti ministra vanjskih poslova Rusije. Tema ovog članka jesu razlozi nastanka i prve realizacije tog plana. Ti su događaji usko vezani s djelovanjem ruske flote admirala Dimitrija Nikolajeviča Senjavina na hrvatskoj obali. Vojni neuspjesi rusko-crnogorske vojske u Dalmaciji odvratili su Aleksandra I. od nastavka realizacije planova Czartoryskog na Balkanu. Zbog tog je neuspjeha 16. srpnja 1806. godine knez Adam Jerzy Czartoryski dao otkaz na položaj ruskog ministra vanjskih poslova. Knez Adam ipak nije, sve do potpisivanja Tilzitskog mira 7. srpnja 1807., tj. do trenutka kad je ruska flota napustila Jadransko more, gubio nadu da će njegov plan balkanske federacije možda ipak biti realiziran. Nekoliko desetaka godina kasnije taj će plan, ali u izmijenjenom obliku, postati jednom od temeljnih koncepcija južnoslavenske i hrvatske politike Hotela Lambert.